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THE EYES OF THE WORLD ARE FOCUSED ON EGYPT
President Nasser inspects a Russian plane at exhibit in Cairo

WAR & PEACE

Double-talk policy of U.S. aggravates crisis in Mideast

By Tabitha Petran

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.

WITH THE PRESIDENT completing a slow boat ride to Bermuda for conferences with British Prime Minister Macmillan, the Vice President on his way home from a glad-hand safari in Africa, the Secretary of State shuttling like a large grim bird from a "crisis" in Southeast Asia to another over the Middle East, Washington diplomacy appeared to be pursuing its normal confused course.

The biggest headlines—as has been the case for weeks—were focused on the Middle East. In the press of the U.S., and the West in general, Egypt's President Nasser was presented as defying the UN and provoking the threat of a new war. The strident tones of the headlines seemed, in part, an attempt to divert attention from Washington's equivocal role in the Middle East. But, these considerations aside, was there substance to the headlines and the stories under them? The facts are these:

POTENTIAL DANGER: Negotiations between UN Secy. General Hammarskjold and the Egyptian and Israel governments, authorized by the UN's Feb. 2 resolution, were due to begin soon. On their eve a flurry of statements and actions was coming from both sides, which UN circles regarded as efforts to enforce bargaining positions. But they were not inclined to minimize the difficulties involved or the potential seriousness of the situation.

For Israel, the most crucial question probably was its right to use the Suez Canal or alternatively the Gulf of Aqaba. Statements from Saudi Arabian and Egyptian sources, official and otherwise, threatened to re-impose the blockade. Such statements, in the UN view, were not unexpected. The big questions were (1) Would Egypt agree to put the issues to the World Court, as it has indicated both in the UN and Washington that it would? (2) What would happen pending the Court's determination? There seemed to be little belief that Israel could put much reliance on Western "guarantees" on passage through Suez. But world opinion is strongly against re-imposition of the blockade and there was hope that its weight would make itself felt.

THE GAZA ISSUE: On the question of

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THE SHAMBLES ON CAPITOL HILL

Corn bill chaos in Congress splits farm bloc wide open

By Lawrence Emery

ELECTIONEERING for control of Congress in 1958 last week blasted apart the once all-powerful farm bloc in the House of Representatives in the first big debate this year on agricultural legislation. When the debris cleared, not only were Democrats and Republicans divided, but region stood opposed to region, "corn people" were up in arms against "cotton and tobacco people", and many a Northern big city Democrat had walked out on his farm country party brother.

Which party will cash in at the polls as a result of the bitter battle will become known only when the votes are counted next year, but the immediate losers are the farmers generally.

Although a major farm revolt in the Midwest in 1956 did not develop, there was enough shift of votes to Democrats in traditional Republican territory to worry the Administration. Shortly after the elections, some Midwestern Republicans blamed Agricultural Secy. Ezra Taft Benson for defeats suffered. The Agricultural Dept. set about to woo back the defectors, and corn was the key.

REFERENDUM LOSES: Corn is the greatest single crop in U.S. agriculture. More acreage is devoted to its growth than any other and its cash value annually runs about $5,000,000,000. Most of the crop is used for feed and the price-structure of the livestock, dairy and poultry industries is dependent on the price of corn.

Last Dec. 11 Midwest corn growers had a chance to vote in a referendum on a program which would determine the corn price for this year. Under the plan backed

(Continued on Page 8)

WHOSE TERRITORY WILL THE BOMB DESTROY?

The great Christmas Island mystery

By Elmer Bendiner

WHILE BRITISH CREWS prepared to test a hydrogen bomb by wiping out a coconut-fringed coral island called Christmas, and while all Japan feared new disasters from the resulting fall-out, suspicion grew that the target for the bomb, which everyone had assumed was British property, might in fact be a U.S. possession.

Scientists, bomb crews and observers were already taking off for Christmas Island. Diplomatic protest in the world's capitals was feverish but apparently futile. The mood in Japan was almost desperate. At the very least the waters near Christmas Island, fishing grounds for Japanese tuna fleets, would be infected for months should the bomb go off. The people talked of sending suicide expeditions of fishermen in their tiny craft who would defy the bombers to blast them along with the island. The U.S. State Dept., apparently pleased at not being the target for popular anger this time, washed its hands of the matter.

THE LETTERS "U.S.": The GUARDIAN began to piece together the story from anguished Japanese correspondence, from files, almanacs, atlases. In the Rand-McNally World Atlas Christmas Island was a barely discernible dot; but beneath its name were the letters, "U.S."

That designation, indicating that Britain was about to blow up an American island, had apparently gone unnoticed by anyone else. When the GUARDIAN brought it to the attention of diplomats it gave pause to some and sent others into renewed activity.

GUARDIAN research disclosed that while all British texts listed the island as British, American works carried Christmas as a U.S. possession or else as owned by Britain and the U.S. The World Almanac staff, when asked to explain the obscure footnote allotting the tiny island to both powers, gave some of the background. Other sources filled out the details of the Christmas story.

BIRD-DROPPINGS: On the day before Christmas, 1777, British Captain James Cook discovered and christened the island. Though it is the largest atoll in the Pacific, it is a bare, irregularly shaped blob of coral about 100 miles in circumference.

It slumbered quietly as an odd item in the list of British properties for almost a century. In 1865 the U.S. laid claim to Christmas under the Guano Act. Passed 9 years earlier, the Act authorized any wandering U.S. merchantman to raise the U.S. flag over any unoccupied island that could be used as a source of guano-bird droppings highly valued as fertilizer. (Many of the tiny Pacific Islands now fly the U. S. flag as a result of the Act.)

(Continued on Page 8)

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"OUR FISH UNCONTAMINATED"
In 1954, after Pacific bomb tests, the Japanese refused to buy tuna. Signs read: Tuna received today are not contaminated. A-Bomb has nothing to do with today's fish."

NOTICE

This month another large class of subscriptions falls due for renewal. If your address label reads March '57 or earlier your sub is in this category. It would be extremely helpful if you renewed NOW.

- To renew for one year mail address label with $3 to address below. Label is on back of this coupon or on wrapper.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN, 197 E. 4 St., New York 9, N.Y.

THE MAIL BAG

Stupid industrialists

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Three cheers for Elmer Bendiner's terse, fact-jammed story (GUARDIAN, March 4) exposing the power trust steal of St. Lawrence Seaway's hydro-electric resources.

It sent me into a rage not only against the thieves but against those who assist and condone the thievery, the "Great Democrats" like Harriman who pose as friends of the people.

Residential users are, of course, the largest block to suffer from continued exploitation by the power trust, now entrenched for decades by Harriman's connivance. But, notwithstanding the special benefits to Reynolds Metals, the Aluminum Corp. of America and General Motors, the surrender is a blow to New York State's industry as a whole. Stupid industrialists!

If Sen. Morse and the fighting Northwest can win their public ownership battle in the Columbia River Valley, watch that frontier boom! And watch the exodus of capital, some of it from New York State, to the Northwest!

Reuben W. Borough

Made to wonder

JASPER, ARK.

Clean up our own mess before trying to straighten out our neighbor nations abroad. Seems as though we never see the beam in our eye, but can see the mote in our neighbor's eye. I have been made to wonder how Vice President Nixon can go to Africa and pat those Negro children on the head in friendship and know what is going on in this country against our Negro people.

I enjoy the GUARDIAN more than any paper I get. Hope you will just keep building stronger all the time.

T. N. Hutchinson

Open wider

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Looks like Big Brother has taken over the Los Angeles County Dental Society.

Take for example three of the questions contained in the five-page application for membership:

"Are there any unsatisfied judgments against you, or are you in default in any way in the performance or discharge of any obligation imposed upon you by decree or order of any court, including alimony and support orders and decrees? . . .

"Have you ever been summoned, arrested, taken into custody indicted, convicted, or tried for, or charged with, or pleaded guilty to the violation of any laws or ordinance or the commission of any felony or misdemeanor or have you been requested to appear before any prosecuting attorney or investigating agency or committee in any matter other than traffic violations? . . .

"Is there any incident of a derogatory nature in your life not called for by the foregoing questions that may have some bearing on your character and fitness to be a member of the LACDS?"

Finally, a pledge to be taken by the applicant (now this is going to hurt a bit):

"I hereby agree that the action of the Board of Directors of the LACDS electing or rejecting me for membership shall be final and binding upon me and I agree to abide by the same."

Ouch! **Perry Don Titus**

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

LOS ANGELES, March 7. (AP)—There would be no threat of World War III, says Edward Cournand, if Russian women used more perfume.

His reasoning: More perfume on Russian women would keep the minds of Russian men on something aside from guns.

Cournand, expectably, is a New York perfume importer.

Spokane **Daily Chronicle**, March 7

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: A. Jadek, Spokane, Wash.

(There were six entries of the same clipping this week. Earliest post mark was selected.)

Criticism begins at home

NEW BRUNSWICK, N.J.

No new type of society can make progress without revealing some injustices or shortcomings and each country develops towards a common goal according to its own background, traditions, etc. Our own country, professing to be a great democracy, had slavery in its past history. And recently welcomed the feudal head of a backward slave society. We also condemned "witches" and still today Negroes struggle for full equality. Since this is true of a country with a longer history than the Soviet Union, why can't that country, which isn't even 40 years old, reveal problems of injustice in its movement towards other economic goals and a new society?

Stan K.

Sanctuary

CHINO, CALIF.

KFI, Los Angeles, received a letter from a man in Victorville, Calif., telling of a boy—broke—who had sought sanctuary in the police station for a night. The next day he got 30 days! What a beautiful illustration of "The Good Samaritan."

August Roche

Intelligent economics

NEW YORK, N. Y.

About six months ago, I became introduced to the GUARDIAN through your dollar trial subscription for six months. Enclosed is my pledge of $1 a month. Coming from a student at Columbia with rather limited means, this should indicate that you've won a friend. Nevertheless I was disappointed in your election coverage. Also, I find a deficiency which is in part due to the fact that I'm a student of economics. I'm referring to your coverage of the all-pervasive structure of monopoly-capitalism. Stock-splitting and the merger movement—which are designed to concentrate economic control—advertising, wage theory and "marginal productivity," "tight money," institutions such as the Council of Economic Advisers, etc., are capable of being presented to the layman in intelligent fashion. I consider this a critical field and one to which you should give more adequate coverage.

Name Withheld

Tea party, anyone?

RICHMOND, CALIF.

The draft is "involuntary servitude" (13th Amendment). American families have no protection against it. We are subjected to greater evils than the 13 colonies rebelled against.

Yours for restoration of the republic.

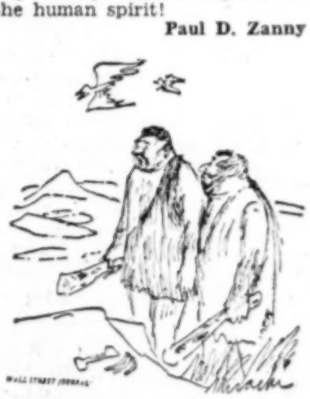
J. N. McCullough

Irony

COHASSET, MASS.

They say that the reason for the young generation to shed its blood is for a better tomorrow. What an irony! Did it not bleed profusely for a better tomorrow which is today? How long will this anathema continue to scourge humanity? As long as our thought is dominated by selfishness and egotism that prevent the fair adjustment of fulfillments to requirements, and destroy the community's prosperity by ruining the happiness of all who are forced to breathe in its atmosphere, there won't be any remedy. What a disgrace for the human spirit!

Paul D. Zanny



Wall Street Journal

"The pressure of daily living is getting me down."

After saltshakers, what?

CRUGERS, N. Y.

Four GUARDIAN Vitamin containers perch permanently on our breakfast table except when they get brushed off (which is when we really appreciate those unbreakable polyethylene bottles). Himself takes the geriatric, herself the therapeutic, the lassies each take the vitamin & mineral. We are planning to convert our first round of containers, when emptied, into picnic salt shakers but would appreciate other ideas.

After all, we expect to live a long time with the help of Guardian Vitamins, and how many salt shakers can you use?

The McShanes

Hucksters & jackasses

DAYTON, O.

This nation is in debt almost four times the value of everything on the continent of use to man, above and below the ground A business, individual or government owing four times its assets would seem to be courting bankruptcy. But we, believing the fiction that we have umpty-tseen billions to toss about like drunken sailors, have been trying to hire one half of the peoples of the world to kill off the other half, in the hope of perpetuating a strangle-hold on governments, markets and people everywhere. But the various peoples are not co-operating.

The plain fact of the matter is that Blue Chip control is on the way out in history's march. Competition and conspiracy among a horde of hucksters to peddle a rigged scarcity for personal loot, a way of life and a type of economics that worked after a fashion when scarcities were real, has about as much to do with an age of abundances as a jackass has with modern transportation. And only a jackass would try to frustrate progress to prolong an obsolete and passing epoch.

J. C. Stafford

MORE LETTERS ON P. 11

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REPORT TO READERS

The larky listing

TWO MONTHS AGO the House Committee on Un-American Activities issued a **Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications** which included the GUARDIAN among 137 new listings, bringing the total to 733 from the previous **Guide** issued in May, 1951.

We promptly wrote the Committee for a copy. No answer. We wrote again. Still no answer. We had about given up on a third request when last week the booklet arrived.

In the same mail we got a letter from the Committee, requesting a subscription to the GUARDIAN!

YOU MIGHT REASONABLY conclude from this that the GUARDIAN was listed sight-unseen—and you would be right, of course. The GUARDIAN listing appears under PART II, "Publications Cited as Communist or Communist-Front by Federal Authorities." The "Federal authority" in our case is this same Committee, which quotes itself from its own report, **Trial by Treason**, of Aug. 25, 1956, as follows:

> "Established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a 'progressive' weekly. * * * Although it denies having any affiliation with the Communist Party, it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia."

Well, the GUARDIAN was not founded by the American Labor Party in 1947, but by three independent individuals named Aronson, Belfrage and McManus in 1948. Out of curiosity we looked up the ALP, in PART I "Organizations . . .", and found that sure enough there it was, based on a mention in 1944 by a predecessor Committee to this effect: "For years the Communists have put forth the greatest effort to capture the entire American Labor Party throughout New York State . . ."

That the ALP (which polled 509,000 votes for Wallace-Taylor in 1948) should finally make the Un-American grade after its death in 1956 along with the Progressive Party (which polled over 1,000,000 votes nationally the same year), is a sure tip-off to the random and unresearched character of this Committtee's listings.

WE RAN THROUGH the Committee's 733 listings and, take our word for it, everybody who ever was anybody is in there. In PART III (". . . Cited by State and Territorial Investigating Committees") we found, as we thought we might, the Citizens Committee for the Recall of Councilman McClanahan (13th Los Angeles Dist.), a listing dating back to 1947 by the California Tenney Committee. Readers will have to tell us whether the Councilman was recalled, or why it was subversive to soapbox for this.

Every defense committee you ever heard of is in the list, dating back to the Scottsboro Case and Angelo Herndon. Every peace council you can imagine is there, too, and one that reflects a little more imagination than most blacklisters usually display—the Irving Peace Theater. That one had us stopped for a time, then we figured it out: New York's defunct Irving Place Theater, which starved to death years ago showing Soviet film revivals, only to make the grade posthumously through a typographical error.

The National People's Committee Against Hearst (1942) is still in the list and so is the League Against Yellow Journalism (Mass., 1938). Anything calling itself The League for Common Sense should have known better: it made both the Committee's and the Attorney-General's lists!

The larkiest listing in the 170-page booklet is another holdover from the 1951 edition, the wartime Sweethearts of Servicemen (1944), of which the Committee says (rather gallantly, we thought): "Its maiden effort was a delegation of 75 young women who arrived in Washington . . ." etc.

WE PURPOSELY haven't listed any of the alive-and-kicking organizations listed other than ourselves, because we don't intend to give this Committee any help in its scandalizing.

As for sending them a subscription, we'll have to give that some serious thought. We'd rather not have people of that stripe on our mailing list; and will probably suggest that Congressman Walter or his wordy mouthpiece, Mr. Arens, go pick the paper up on a newsstand somewhere.

—THE GUARDIAN

INDONESIA'S TOP MEN: PRESIDENT SUKARNO (r) AND FORMER V.P. HATTA
They disagreed over Sukarno's plan to include all parties in a new cabinet.

FERMENT IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA—I

Sukarno urges 'family plan' to solve Indonesia's woes

By Kumar Goshal
(First of two articles)

THE POT was boiling over in South-East Asia last week. There was turmoil in Indonesia, rising opposition in Thailand to the government's pro-Western policies, controversy in Singapore over the West's increasing emphasis on military might in Asia. But the final communique of the three-day, hush-hush South-East Asia Treaty Organization conference at Canberra, Australia, issued on March 13, ignored all this ferment.

It was known, however, that SEATO members (Britain, France, U.S., Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand), meeting under the guidance of Secy. of State Dulles, had discussed these issues. The communique confined itself to warnings against Communist "nonviolent penetration" of South-East Asia. The warnings were addressed to governments that have "in varying degrees adopted the line of active opposition to collective security arrangements, such as SEATO." Indonesia is one such government.

THE COMPLAINTS: In Indonesia, discontent with the central government's economic policies in islands other than Java spilled over last December, when military commanders in North, Central and South Sumatra seized administrative power. Other islands followed suit until, by March 13, only Java remained relatively unaffected. On March 14, however, the government of Premier Ali Sastroamidjojo was forced to resign. President Sukarno, Indonesia's most popular figure, immediately proclaimed martial law, asked the outgoing cabinet to act as caretaker until a new government was formed.

At the root of the trouble were the islands' complaints of too much control by the central government at Djakarta, of too many administrative posts on the islands being filled with appointees from Java and not with deserving local leaders. With particular bitterness they charged that the Djakarta government was spending too little of the huge revenue from the islands for local welfare and development.

The island of Sumatra, for example, is a rich storehouse of oil, rubber and other natural resources; Celebes, the Moluccas and the Lesser Sundas (including Bali) have a lucrative foreign trade in copra—dried coconut meat from which coconut oil is extracted. Sumatra's resources alone earn more than half of Indonesia's foreign exchange.

A NEW CONCEPT: President Sukarno, not unmindful of the discontent, apparently was unaware of its extent. Conscious of the government's instability during the last eight years, on Feb. 21 he announced to the Indonesians a new "concept" of government, formulated after conferences with leaders of the major political parties.

He argued that the Western concept of parliamentary democracy, with an official opposition, was unsuited to the Indonesian situation. He said that the government has been unable to function effectively for the people's benefit because of the "omnipresence of a strong opposition" which interpreted its function only "as the endeavor to overturn the existing government . . . and its replacement by a government of the opposition itself."

He proposed forming a Gotong Royong (Mutual Assistance) cabinet composed of ministers representing all major political parties and vice ministers representing groups of small parties that had elected parliament members in 1955. The new cabinet would include a representative of the Communist Party which has no representation at present. Realising that this would be unpalatable to some other parties, the President asked "in all sincerity whether we can ignore a group which in the general elections got six million votes" and emerged as the fourth largest political party.

GETTING AT THE TRUTH: Sukarno also proposed a National Council including representatives of farmers, labor, the intelligentsia, businessmen, Protestants, Catholics, Moslems, youth groups, women's organizations, the 1945 revolutionists, the various island regions—in addition to the army, navy and air force chiefs of staff, the chief of state police, the attorney general and ministers with important portfolios.

Conceding that "there will always be differences of opinion," the President said the cabinet and the Council would not be made up of yes-men. "In fact," he said, "out of the clash of opinions springs the truth. Differences of opinion should not automatically mean for us to oppose, to try to topple the cabinet, cost what it may." Acceptance of the "family principle," he added, would mean a return to the spirit of the historic Aug. 17, 1945, Independence Proclamation to create "a big undivided family . . . in a home called the Republic of Indonesia."

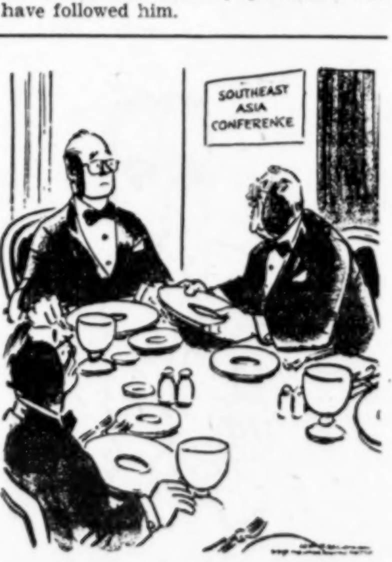
THE STICKING POINT: The Council, led by the President himself, would advise the cabinet, "whether the advice is required or not," so that it would know the desires of all. Sukarno likened the cabinet to "a compressed form of Parliament" and the Council to "a compressed form of the living society, the bustling society, the dynamic and active society."

But the President's eloquent plea seemed to founder on the rock of his proposal for CP representation. Backed by the trade unions, youth and women's groups and the smaller parties, the idea was opposed by most of the major parties and local leaders except from Java. Former Vice President Hatta who, with Sukarno, made up the original "duumvirate," also was opposed.

ISLAND DEMANDS: Indonesia was ruled by emergency measures while negotiations went on between the President and his supporters and the defiant island administrations. One basic demand of the islands was the inclusion of Hatta in any new government.

Negotiations were complicated by many factors. The fanatical Darul Islam group, which wants a theocratic Moslem state, is strong in Sumatra. There is a sizeable Catholic group in Celebes and neighboring islands. Both are strongly opposed to any radical change in Indonesian society.

From Singapore came a report (AP, 2/28) that a Sumatran army officer Lt. Col. A. Hussein, during a recent visit to Malaya, said Indonesian "anti-Communist agents" purchased "millions of dollars worth of arms and ammunition through Malaya." These arms, Hussein said, would be used against President Sukarno if "Communists be allowed to join the government."



Herblock in Washington Post
"My, what lovely C-H-I-N-A"

The **New China News Agency** (2/11) reported that the leading Djakarta newspaper **Merdeka** (pro-government) has accused the American Standard Oil Co. (with holdings in Indonesia) of giving financial aid to Sumatran dissidents.

Suluh Indonesia, a newspaper supporting the Nationalist Party—Indonesia's largest—urged the country to be on guard against foreign interference "so that we will not be confronted with unanticipated events."

In an order of the day on March 14 Sukarno deplored the "dissension and strife raging among us" at a time "when international conditions around us are coming to a head, when foreign subversive activities are still rampant in our territory."

MASS. CONGRESSMAN REVEALS HOW . . .

El Salvador barred U. S. Negro from goodwill tour for Baptists

A STORY OF HOW El Salvador refused to admit a Massachusetts Baptist minister because he is a Negro was told in Congress on March 11 by Rep. Torbert Hart Macdonald (D-Mass.). The Rev. Oscar G. Phillips of the Shiloh Baptist Church, Medford, Mass., and 33 other ministers, all white, had been chosen by the Mass. Baptist Ministers Assn. to make a good-will tour of Central America during Brotherhood Week.

The schedule called for a two-day stop in El Salvador. Travel permits for the 33 white ministers and their wives were obtained easily. The group was to leave on Feb. 17. Rev. and Mrs. Phillips were still in New York on Feb. 21, the middle of Brotherhood Week, waiting for an El Salvador visa. After a period of "shilly-shallying," according to Rep. Macdonald, the El Salvador consular authorities in New York finally told Rev. Phillips that El Salvador's migration law forbade issuance of any visas to Negroes. Officials allegedly cited chapter 3, article 25, section 14 of the law which they said barred Negroes not only from settling but even from transit across El Salvador.

OUT TO LUNCH: Fernando Trebanino, El Salvador's Consul General in New York, when reached last week, said it was all a misunderstanding; there had been an unfortunate delay but authorization had been granted to issue the Rev. Phillips a visa and it was now waiting for him. Brotherhood Week unfortunately was long past and the good-will tour was over.

The GUARDIAN asked for the text of the section in the migration law cited by Rep. Macdonald. The consular staff admitted the law was in their library and promised to make it available. But six telephone calls in two days' time failed to secure it. Consular aides offered instead a statement by Foreign Minister Dr. Ortiz Moncilla to the effect that it was a misunderstanding. They also cited a section of El Salvador's Constitution which declares that "All men are equal" under El Salvador's laws and there is to be no discrimination in employment or otherwise because of race. (El Salvador is mainly Indian and mestizo but has no Negro population.) The crucial section in the migration law could not be given to the press, the GUARDIAN was informed, without express authorization of the Consul General who for most of the two days of telephoning was either at lunch or in conference.

RAPS STATE DEPT: Rep. Macdonald read into the Congressional Record the sums granted by the U.S. to El Salvador and said he had written to Secy. of State Dulles about the exclusion policies of El Salvador which, he said, should stir as much indignation as the action of Saudi Arabia in barring Jewish soldiers from serving on U.S. bases there. He said: "I feel strongly that no longer should American tax dollars be taken for granted by countries such as El Salvador who refuse to treat all American citizens as first-class citizens of this country."

He demanded an apology from El Salvador and blamed the State Dept. for not making clear the U.S. stand on "equality of citizenship." The migration law used to bar Negroes, he said, has been in existence since 1933. He added: "Certainly I cannot conceive of this being the first time it has ever been called to the attention of the Dept. of State."

In 1933 El Salvador was under the thumb of dictator Gen. Maximiliano Hernandez Martinez who hailed fascism wherever he could find it. Under his administration El Salvador became the first country in the world to recognize the Japanese puppet regime in Manchukuo. He cultivated relations with Hitler and Mussolini and imported German military leaders. For a time the German consul in San Salvador also managed El Salvador's national bank, attending to his consular duties in the bank's offices.

Martinez was ousted by a general strike in 1944, but clearly he left his mark on the juntas and military presidents who have followed him.

DESPERATE PLIGHT

Poultry farms: why are they going broke?

By C. W. Fowler

CAMDEN, N.J.

THE PLIGHT of the poultry farmer today, caught between rising production costs and falling prices for his product, is more than critical—it's desperate. Wholesale prices received on the farm for eggs have hovered below 40c a dozen (at writing, 34½c), while production costs are 40c a dozen and above.

The GUARDIAN's wry little story about the farmer who went broke farming, took up an egg route by buying eggs at 30c and retailing them at 25c, was asked where's the profit in that and replied "it's better than farming," was all too apropos. It's true. There's no profit in poultry farming. There's no living either.

The poultry "industry" is a big one, running over four billion dollars in annual product. Americans consume an enormous number of eggs, about 360 for each person a year.

THE MIDDLEMEN: Why is the poultry farmer forced to go broke farming? The answer runs to the whole question of the small, family size farm operation in America today. Dairymen, as shown by the strike in New York and Pennsylvania, are in the same leaky boat. Milk sells at the farm for less than cost.

Who gets the difference between what GUARDIAN readers and others pay for eggs at the supermarket and the price the farmer receives? The supermarket, plus a horde of leeches known as egg brokers, members of the N.Y. Commodity Exchange. The average markup on eggs has been around 20-25c a dozen, at present retail prices, about 66%.

A further answer is monopoly. One chain of food stores alone buys about 20% of the nation's farm produce, more than enough to enable it to control prices from farm to market, as a government suit against A & P showed some years ago. Monopoly is moving in on America's food supply, just as it has moved in on countless other products Americans must buy.

THE CASUALTIES: In the process, the first casualty is the small, family size farmer—"bulwark of American agriculture" in the election speeches. In one area of New Jersey alone (Jersey is fourth in poultry production) more than 20% of them have been forced out of farming in less than the past year.

What does a farmer do when he has to give up his occupation? Like the automated shop worker, he looks for another way to make a living—except that the farmer has no unemployment compensation to help him look for a job. He has to take anything he can get, usually a poor job at low pay, making him in turn an unwilling force for driving down wages.

The small farmer doesn't relish this, any more than industrial workers do. To meet monopoly's drive against his livelihood, he has to organize. Historically and traditionally, the small farmer has been reluctant to join unions, as unions have been reluctant to help him organize. The many cooperatives he belongs to are not unions, they are business associations formed in the hope of getting better marketing or cheaper feed.

Today, many poultry farmers are beginning to think longingly of what trade unions have accomplished for their members. They are more willing now to seek and accept the help of unions in their plight.

NEW APPROACH: On March 11, in Camden, N.J., a meeting that may become a turning point was called by District 6 of the United Packinghouse Workers, AFL-CIO. The meeting was to discuss, with representatives of various poultry cooperatives, the possibilities of organizing with UPWA help. To meet the requirements of anti-trust laws, used against small farmers in the past, the approach will be through cooperatives. The Packinghouse union is well known for its support of small farmers, has an intimate knowledge of their problems through the handling of farm products by its members.

The emphasis, of course, has to be on self organization. No union, however well-intentioned or strong, can organize farmers unless they want to organize themselves.

Just as a new approach to organization can bring hope to farmers, so it can also bring relief to consumers. The history of monopoly has one basic lesson for consumers—after monopoly takes over, consumer prices go up. Today, the consumer is getting cheap eggs. With monopoly control, he'll get expensive eggs and fewer of them.

THE ANSWER: The process is already at work. In New Jersey, one supermarket chain is setting up a 200,000-bird laying operation, using Hungarian refugees as wage labor. Feed companies are pushing contract deals whereby the farmer is guaranteed 37c a dozen, must buy his feed, chicks, equipment through the feed company, and must put up specific kinds of buildings. This is especially prevalent in the Southwest. It makes sharecroppers of the poultry farmers, subject to all the economic dictation that falls to the lot of all sharecroppers.

In the drive to monopoly control, most small poultry farmers are culled out of their livelihood. What happens to him as a human being is no concern of the feed companies or the supermarket chains, or to the egg broker on the N.Y. Commodity Exchange who paves the way for the grain trust by rigging the price of eggs.

If the small farmer can organize, with the help of his union brothers and sisters, his livelihood and his way of life can be saved. If monopoly control continues to grow, both are lost. At the same time, the era of plentiful and comparatively cheap food in America comes to an end.

WAS BATISTA SAVED OR REPRIEVED?

Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista stood alone in his office (he says) with a .45 caliber pistol in his hand on March 13 while student rebels stormed the palace. He is shown here giving orders after the battle was over. A grenade fell at the doorway of his study but failed to explode. All 45 of the students' suicide squad were killed by troops and tanks. While police occupied the University of Havana, students told newsmen: "Batista's death sentence has already been passed." Throughout Cuba rumors spread of imminent marches from Fidel Castro's rebel citadel in the mountains and of new landings by returning exiles.

THE UN-AMERICANS

27 in publishing called; committee meets a stone wall

FOF FOUR DAYS beginning March 13 a two-man subcommittee of the House Committee on Un-American Activities grilled some 27 persons in New York City, most of them connected with progressive foreign language periodicals, and learned little more from them than their names.

Eighteen of those subpenaed represented ten foreign language periodicals with a total circulation of about 36,000. As the hearings ended, Reps. Morgan M. Moulder (D-Mo.) and Gordon H. Scherer (R-Ohio) threatened denaturalization and deportation proceedings and declared that some of the writings of the periodicals during the Korean war represented "treason." The Congressmen also said they would seek "amendments to various laws dealing with the labeling and processing of this foreign communist propaganda."

THEY GOT NOWHERE: Other witnesses included John Gates, editor of the **Daily Worker**; Joseph Starobin, former foreign editor of that paper; Angus Cameron, president of Liberty Book Club; Jessica Smith, editor of **New World Review**; Milton Howard, an editor of **Mainstream**; James S. Allen of Intl. Publishers; Joseph Fields of New Century Publishers; and representatives of two book stores.

All refused to answer any questions concerning their political associations. Gates in a statement distributed to the press said that "as a newspaper editor, I feel a special obligation to oppose any efforts by Congressional committees to interfere with the freedom of the press. This committee is seeking to destroy the First Amendment freedom of the press in the guise of seeking so-called 'foreign connections'."

A MATTER OF DIGNITY: Cameron refused to answer any questions "as a man, because it is beneath my dignity to answer questions put by the likes of you."

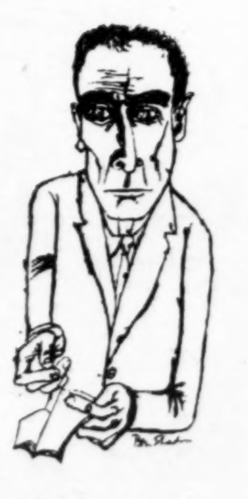
Starobin told the committee that he had left the Communist Party in 1953 for "differences of opinion" but added that "I do not regret the years I spent in the Communist Party." He refused to identify any of his former associates.

As the committee left New York, it became known that editors of foreign language papers in Chicago have been subpenaed for an appearance before the committeee in that city on March 26.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH: For Gates it was a busy week. In addition to his appearance before the committee, he was the center of a storm over freedom of speech on the city's campuses. He was originally invited by a student group to speak at Queens University during Academic Freedom Week. When school authorities banned his appearance there, he was invited by a City College student group to address them, whereupon the presidents of all five city colleges met and ruled that "campus courtesies" will not be extended to any person convicted under the Smith Act.

Gates was then invited to speak at two gatherings on the campus of Columbia University. In addition, the N.Y. Civil Liberties Union hired a hotel ballroom for a talk by Gates to which all city students were invited.

New publication shows graphic works of American artists



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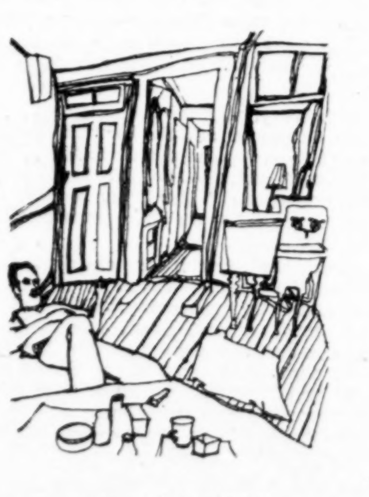

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WHATEVER the word "realism" in the visual arts may mean—and it has been given some strange twists—the phase that includes expressively free yet accurate and disciplined drawing evidently has a good deal of vitality. Proof of this, carried like the castaway's message-bottle in the flood of non-objective and abstract-expressionist propaganda which has swamped the Western world, is a collection of 56 graphic works by American artists, just published under the title **Drawing.***

Between the devil of politicians forcefully instructing artists (which seems to be continuing in the Soviet Union) and the deep sea of gallery-owning businessmen "pressuring" painters to join the great formlessness of the "abstract expressionist movement or comparable new styles" (City College of N. Y. Area Research Council report on contemporary New York art), the publication of **Drawing** shines like the good deed that it is. In quality and price ($1.25) it compares very favorably with the Guardian's Buying Service folios of Mexican, Italian and Indian draftsmen.

Contributors range from established artists like Ben Shahn to less known and younger workers. The styles are varied, the drawing in every case is competent or better, the selections are visual statements and not fragments of graphic shorthand or doodles. Credit for this good judgment goes to the three editors: a printer-poet, a printer-artist and a teacher-poet, who made the selections and themselves reproduced and published the works on their own small press.

—Robert Joyce

*DRAWING *(edited by Bruce Duff Hooton, Daniel Brown, David Johnson; 64 7x10 inch pages. Broadaxe Press, 281 East Broadway, N. Y. 2, $1.25.*

FIRST USED AGAINST RADICALS

Government stoolies used to smear integration fight

By Eugene Gordon

WHILE PRIME MINISTER Nkrumah in Ghana was honoring the Rev. Martin Luther King, an ex-Communist Negro professional informer in Baton Rouge was telling a Louisiana joint legislative committee that Dr. King's passive-resistance movement was "leading Negroes in the South down the road to bloodshed, violence and revolution." The committee was making what it called the nation's "first official investigation . . . into communist influence behind racial disturbances."

Committee witnesses Manning Johnson and Leonard Patterson had made few headlines since 1954, when the Justice Dept. was reported investigating charges that the two had lied under oath. Johnson had embarrassed the government by testifying that UN Under-Secretary Ralph Bunche was a communist.

SCOOP: Last week Johnson told the Louisiana legislative committee that Rev. Dr. King's program "could lead to communism in the South." Johnson said Dr. King's explanation of the non-violent program is: "It's the same as the Communist party's."

When Johnson told the probers that Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois "was elected to the Natl. Committee of the Communist party" at its national convention in New York no one could have been more astonished than Dr. Du Bois. Johnson did not say why none of the on-the-spot reporters and observers had received that information. The committee did not ask. Patterson, less voluble, agreed with Johnson that the reason why the Southern church is headquarters of the resistance movement is that "it's the best place" for communists to hide. He also agreed that "communist infiltration" of the NAACP makes it "one of the most influential mix-breed organizations in the country."

From elsewhere on the Southern front came these reports:

ALCORN TURNABOUT: History professor Clennon King of Mississippi's Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College (Negro) seemed headed for a renegade's role when he wrote a series for the anti-Negro Jackson **State-Times** criticizing the NAACP and local Negroes. He backtracked after almost all of Alcorn's 585 students packed their bags and left the campus, chanting: "This place is dead. Let's go home."

Despite praise from the Governor, the State Board of Education and the **State-Times'** editors, Prof. King wired the Baltimore **Afro-American** and the Pittsburgh **Courier** that he regretted his articles. "Negroes everywhere say I hate my race. Everyone calls me Mississippi's fool because I turned against my own people. When my people refused to hear me any longer, the state turned me out."

He had been fired by acting president J.R. Otis after the students threatened to stay away until "this Uncle Tom" left. The all-white Mississippi Board of Control stepped in, fired the president and expelled the students. A confidential source told the **Afro** the students had planned to strike even if King had not written the articles. They wanted the college integrated, with Otis made actual head. Status of the expelled student body remained unclear at the weekend.

BIRMINGHAM TURNABOUT: Lamar Weaver ran for City Commissioner of Public Improvements in Birmingham last year. Friends say that he lost because he had urged white and Negro alike to support "the law of the land," meaning the U.S. Supreme Court's integration decisions.

Last week Weaver fled Alabama for his life. He had sat with Rev. and Mrs. F.L. Shuttleworth, Negro leaders of Birmingham's non-violent integration movement while they were waiting for the Atlanta train. When Weaver left the station and approached his car, old friends stoned him, slugged him with a suitcase, kicked and pummelled him. Police looked on. Pursued by the mob, he drove through a red light; was arrested for reckless driving and fined $25. The judge lectured him on a white man's duty to preserve the Southern way of life.

REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING Jr.
A symbol for his people

In Washington he told the Senate Judiciary subcommittee on civil rights that when you cross the Mason-Dixon line to the South "you enter a foreign country where violence and mob rule are king."

VIRGINIA LIBRARY: Negro upholsterer Samuel C. Murray promised to take the Purcellville, Va., Public Library to court. The last completely segregated library in the state, it refused to lend Mr. Murray a book about French drapes. He said he needed it in his business. He told library board chairman O.L. Emerick that Virginia's laws provide that all state-supported libraries shall be available to all citizens. Emerick said: "I know that. But it would be contrary to practice to allow you to borrow books."

FLORIDA PROMISE: A Tallahassee city judge handed maximum 60-day sentences to one white and two Negro university students who defied a city law by sitting together on a local bus. He castigated the trio as trying to be "modern-day martyrs." They appealed.

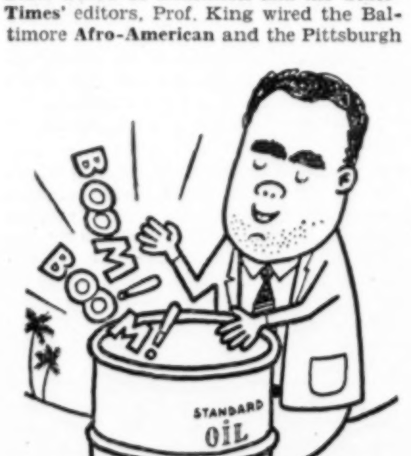
Tallahassee Inter-Civic Council member K.S. Dupont, a Negro who ran against a white man for city council, was defeated by a three to one margin. He was consoled by the fact that 123 of his 2,405 votes came from white citizens. Dupont predicted that Negroes would continue to "try to get registered" and would run for office at every election.

TERROR TESTIMONY: Mrs. Beatrice Young of Jackson, Miss., among others, came before the Senate civil rights subcommittee with stories of intimidation, denial of civil rights, and murder, in the South. She said Deputy Sheriff Andy Hopkins last Nov. 25 phoned, asking if Mildred McGee, her sister's child, was there. She said no. He then came to the house and, without a search warrant, threatened to break the door down. She said:

"I opened the door and he hit me in the head with his blackjack and came in. I asked him why he hit me but he didn't answer. I asked him again and he hit me in the mouth and told me to hush and that I am under arrest. I told him I had not done anything and if I am under arrest to take me to jail and stop cursing me."

At the jail Hopkins took her into a room and beat her, she said. She begged him to stop, pleading she was pregnant. Another man entered "and he felt my waist and asked me what I had on." Hopkins asked why she was pregnant again when she had a 15-month-old boy. Mrs. Young quoted the Sheriff: "I understand you stay that way, you black bitch."

On Dec. 3 Mrs. Jackson lost her child. She said to the committee: "Gentlemen, I beg of you to do something to stop these un-Godly acts."



Liberation, Paris

The tom-tom

THE NEGRO PRESS ON NIXON

The man who couldn't go South

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING Jr., after spanning an ocean and a continent, finally caught up with Vice President Nixon "in the freedom-charged atmosphere" of the Gold Coast, just before it became Ghana. Dr. King, as President of the Montgomery Improvement Assn., led the successful movement against jimcrow city buses. As spokesman for organized groups of Negro leaders, he twice appealed to the President and the Vice President to visit the South in support of Supreme Court desegregation opinions. His appeals went unanswered.

The Pittsburgh **Courier**, which went all out for Eisenhower's and Nixon's reelection, reported from Accra:

"The Vice President was his usual smiling self when mutual friends brought the two together at a reception here. Dr. King smiled, too, but he didn't forget his mission. 'Mr. Vice President,' he said, 'I'm very glad to meet you here. But I want you to come and visit us down in Alabama, where we are seeking the same kind of freedom the Gold Coast is celebrating'."

Nixon invited Dr. King to come visit with him in Washington.

OTHER STRUGGLES: Prime Minister Nkrumah took note, in his address on the eve of Ghana's independence, of the Negro freedom struggle elsewhere. He said:

"At long last the battle has been ended and thus Ghana, our beloved country, is free forever . . . We yet have a long way to go, in Africa and in other parts of the world, toward the recognition of human rights . . ."

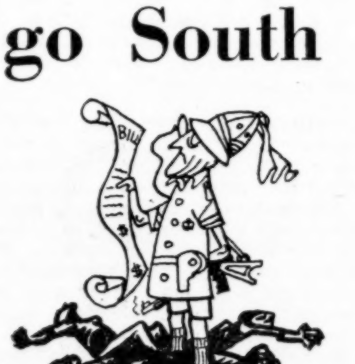
Courier UN correspondent Horace Caton speculated on the failure of Ghana to invite Egypt to her freedom celebration. Ghana, he said, needs the Volta River Dam to insure "a more unified economy"; but money for that gigantic project would come primarily from England and Canada. Not wishing to offend England by "being friendly to Egypt," he speculated, Ghana was "caught in the middle."

WILL IT JOIN THE BLOC? He quoted a recent interview with Ghana's Finance Minister Gbedemah: "I do not think that Ghana will be a member of the African-Arab-Asian bloc. We have little in common with Arab countries except that some are located in Africa. They are different from us." Caton disagreed. He said Ghana was "a black nation and located in the continent of Africa" and that there was "a community of interest" with that bloc.

The Baltimore **Afro-American** indicated it thought Nixon had "got off on the wrong foot" with his praise for Brittain "for giving Ghana its independence." The **Afro** said:

"The leaders in Ghana knew that Britain did not give them anything. The facts are that Britain held on to this rich African colony and squeezed it to the limit. When the people rebelled, turned to prompt passive resistance, refused to work and, altogether, plagued the British government until it was glad to get rid of them, independence came for Ghana . . . Let us acknowledge what is true: Britain took Ghana's freedom; gave it back only when forced to do so."

THE TRUE LINK: The N.Y. **Amsterdam News** (3/9) hoped the Vice President realized, as most Negroes do, that there is "more than meets the eye behind the birth of Ghana." Negroes have always been proud of Haiti, Ethiopia and Liberia, **AN** said, but these nations were on the scene when the contemporary Negro was born. He will look upon Ghana "as a nation born during his lifetime and he will associate Ghana with all of the unlimited promise that he wishes for himself in the world of tomorrow."



The paper said U.S. Negroes do not want a separate Negro state in America —they are striving for full freedom "in the state we already have"; and therein one finds the bond connecting Negro Americans with the Ghanaians: "It is not so much a question of color that we rejoice over Ghana as it is a question of freedom."

SHORT WEEKEND: Courier editor P.L. Prattis wrote from Accra that Dr. King "is only a symbol of the attitude, the thinking and the determination of thousands of other Negroes throughout the South. "He quoted a Montgomery Negro woman's statement to N.Y. **Times Magazine** correspondent George Barrett:

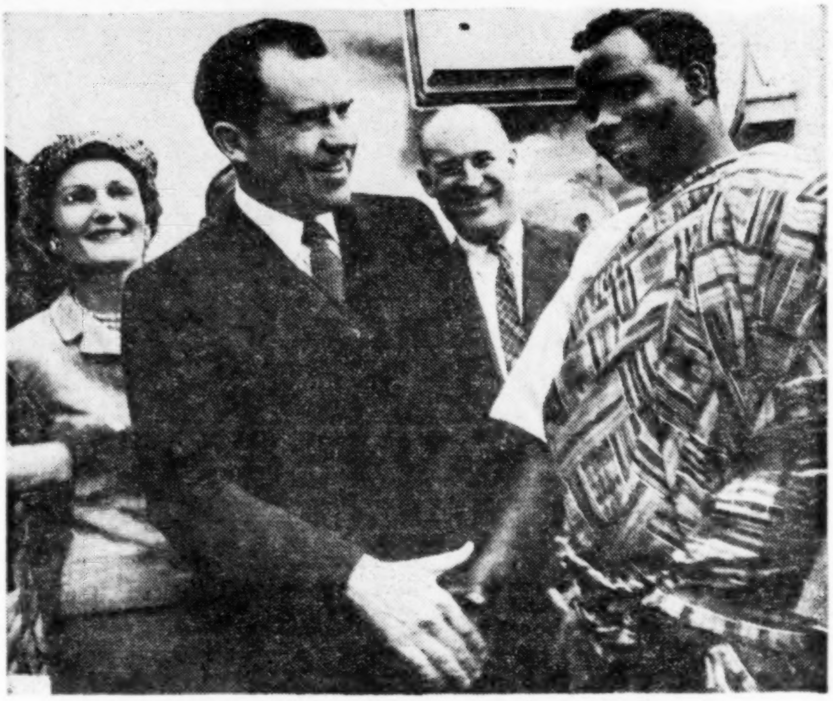
"Did you ever dream of getting a million dollars some day and buying all the things you wanted? For us, right now, it's like suddenly getting a million-dollar check from the United States government. We've waited 100 years for it, only it's Friday afternoon and the bank won't open until Monday. It really doesn't matter if we don't get the cash until Monday. A weekend is not so long now."

BELFRAGE REPORTS FROM ACCRA

Nobody fell in love with Nixon in Ghana

By Cedric Belfrage

ACCRA, GHANA



GHANA IN THE GRIP OF THE GLAD-HAND

The Nixons greet Trade and Labor Minister Kojo Bostjo

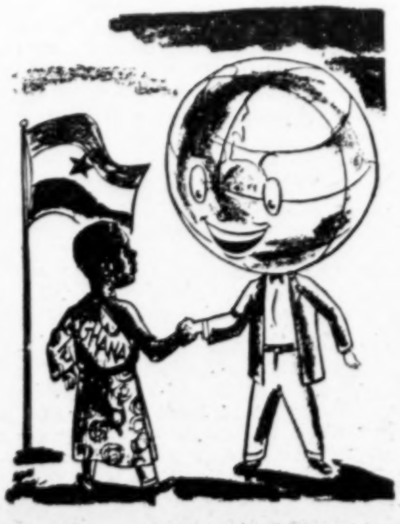
THE NOTICE on the board in the Accra Club said: "Dress, of course, will be strictly formal as usual." In the bar the mess-jacketed, scrubbed-pink Massas and their decollete women sipped the last highballs before their colony's midnight transformation into free Ghana: imperturbably correct, going to the cold, cold ground, of course, with stiff upper lips and their boots on. Just three weeks before, their club had made its first gallant bow to the inevitable by permitting African guests—if the Africans wanted to come, which apparently none did.

In the street beyond the club driveway, tens of thousands of black people danced, drummed, sang and shouted along in a tide of triumph. It was as strangely gentle a "mob" as it was vociferously determined. There was no word or gesture of hostility toward the white passengers in luxurious cars which, though completely surrounded, were able to move slowly with the tide; only if the white faces smiled, the people shouted a friendly "Ghana!" or "Freedom!" as they swept on. That the palefaces had done and were doing good things as well as bad, nobody questioned.

THE FIRST STAGE: In the floodlit Assembly across the road, "the liberator" Kwame Nkrumah, dressed in prison smock in memory of his year behind bars, charted Ghana's road ahead in the last speech there under white domination. His analysis was realistic, his proposals dynamic but not visionary, his formulations crafted by a master politician conscious of the many pitfalls to be avoided.

He said Ghana could stand on its own feet economically and would not let its policies be "dictated by the need for us to seek assistance from other countries." He pictured Ghana as the first stage of a great African renaissance in "pursuit of freedom and social progress." Above all he called for "African solutions" and rejection of the "spurious colonialist idea" of applying solutions suitable to "the so-called mother country."

THE CHIPS ARE DOWN: The Assembly, modeled on the British House of Commons with its mace, wigged Speaker and "hear, hear" ritual, is not the atmosphere for Nkrumah. The session had begun, weirdly, with a prayer for Queen Elizabeth to overcome all her enemies. One saw that the chips were already down here for the new phase of struggle between African members broadly representing rich and poor—the former lounging on half-empty benches on the Right, the latter so jammed into the Left benches that some members sat on others' laps. Outside after midnight, standing in a cluster of prison-attired front-line comrades on a small platform, Nkrumah the great popular agitator, told the sea of men and women whom he held as with a magnet:



Tapley in N.Y. Amsterdam News

Congratulations!

"At long last the struggle is ended. Now I am relying on you to realize that you are free. We are going to create our own African personality in world affairs. Let us ask for God's blessing."

Then the new national anthem, chosen in an all-Ghana radio contest, was played twice—the climax to such a day of joy as Africa never saw, but which the next day, March 6, surpassed. After free Ghana's first parliamentary session Britain's Duchess of Kent, followed minutes later by Nkrumah, rode in procession through the packed, sweltering streets. For the Duchess, as in all the many processions and ceremonies of recent days, a murmur; for Nkrumah, a roar—the people go wild at the sight of him.

THE DUCHESS: Watching it all from grandstands, or from the shiny new cars provided for each delegation, were the representatives of the white nations which for so long have ruled over the black. Britain vied now with the U.S. to convince the Ghanaians that it is the best friend of African freedom. The efforts of both seemed Canute-like against this little-understood human tide. The Duchess, a faded if charming royal figure who has been on the shelf of late, tried her best for the cameras to hold a black baby as if she enjoyed it. The wan smile of R. A. Butler, Tory leader of the British Parliamentary delegation, was equally far from hitting the effervescent Ghana wavelength.

When the Duchess presided over the brilliant regatta watched by a multitude from every vantage-point along the shore, the announcer remarked of a race between the primitive cocoa-loading surfboats: "It may interest our royal visitor to know that during the past year 70,000 tons of cocoa were handled in this manner." Accra boatmen take pride in their skill with these boats; but the failure to build one decent harbor in 100 years of Gold Coast rule, because black labor is cheaper, is no matter for British pride.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: How have the American traveling salesmen made out? As U.S. correspondents were remarking before Vice President Nixon flew in, Washington is on tricky ground to express friendliness to Africans without rousing suspicions about its motives. Nixon's approach was straight Dale Carnegie: from his plane he walked over to the common people behind the airport barriers (a disappointing turn-out) to shake hands and greet them as "ladies and gentlemen"—something, one may be sure, which Africans never saw a white VIP do before. His smile, gruesome as it is to any initiate in American political gimmicks, was a welcome change for them from the British poker-face.

His first question as champagne was offered by Finance Minister Gbedemah, Nkrumah's Vice President-greeter who was jailed eight years ago for "spreading false news," was: "How far away is the Volta River?" (site of Ghana's most urgently needed project to modernize itself). Soon he was out with the cameramen patting the heads of naked village children, and **Life** miraculously appeared on Accra news-stands with the same White Father on the cover hugging Hungarian refugee kids. But somehow nobody seemed to fall in love with him and what he represented.

WHAT ABOUT DIXIE? On other levels the going was tougher, and it became clear that all Ghanaians were not born yesterday. He scored fewer points by bringing along two U.S. Negroes—Gov. Gordon of the Virgin Islands and Michigan Rep. Diggs—than he lost by the denial of a passport to Dr. Du Bois and by the presence of GOP Rep. Frances Bolton, who in 1955 reported glowingly on a visit to Portugal's African slave colony, Angola.

Ghanaians versed in U.S. affairs wondered loudly why he was so anxious for them to have justice while Ike refused to lift a finger for it in Dixie, most of whose Negro families stem from hereabouts. A move to throw a lavish Ambassador Hotel shindig for Nixon to glorify U.S. "anti-imperialism" irked the Ghana government. It said it already knew the Americans had plenty of money; instead, a small affair was held at the U.S. Consulate..

THE NINTH MONTH: At the University convocation, where he was a guest along with splendidly-robed chiefs and the white smart set, Nixon made no friends by deliberately drawing attention to himself in the middle of the Duchess's state arrival. The U. S. Information Service topped this display of bad taste by distributing a "Salute to Ghana Independence" calendar front-paging Eisenhower and consigning Nkrumah to September.

Nixon visited Nkrumah and asked him whether Ghana would be "neutralist" in international affairs; Nkrumah tactfully replied that that was impossible for any state dedicated to democracy.

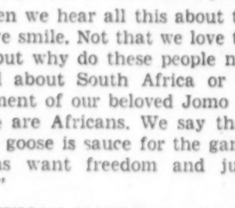
At the Governor's dinner, Mrs. Bolton and others were heard bitterly complaining that the No. 2 American's party had been put far down the table, while Chinese Marshal and Vice Prime Minister Nieh Jung-chen sat next to Britain's Lord Perth near the head. Everyone wanted to meet the Chinese delegate.

TANGLED SCENE: The Ambassador Hotel, where the Nixons had a second-floor suite—just down the corridor from British Guiana's 'red" ex-Premier Jagan, but with the FBI on the alert in between—has been the world's most fascinating place to sit and watch a crowd. As Nixon rolls up in his Jaguar, he studiously avoids seeing the Russian delegates rolling away in theirs just ahead of the Governor of Spanish Guinea.

In the verandah bar and the lobby, Liberians, Rumanians, West Indians and Turks are all tangled up with Ghana chiefs in dazzling hand-loomed cloths, who enter and leave under gorgeous attendant-borne umbrellas and clutching their carved staves of office. In the restaurant a marimba band plays "The Peanut Vendor" as prelude to a speech by R. A. Butler, at the City Council's lunch for VIP's, on how many millions of people Britain has liberated.

When the party is over, the gradual departure will begin of British liberators who cannot adapt to the new order. The sooner the better in the case of those types prevalent in all colonies who treat servants like mules, working them 15 hours a day with never a holiday. But there are many whom Ghana hopes will stay, such as Gov.-Gen. Arden-Clarke, a rare kind of official with whom Nkrumah gets along famously.

THE WORKERS: With Ghana's need for aid from the white world, can the Americans move in? An evening with militant Accra union leaders suggests that the now stepped-up U.S. propaganda is falling on stony ground as far as the masses are concerned. Ghanaian workers were pleased by the U.S.-dominated Intl. Confedn. of Trade Unions' recent regional meeting here. It focused attention on their wretched conditions and pay (gold miners, after a four-month strike last year, won a raise from 56 to 77 cents a day) and on the fact that, as of now, deduction of union dues from pay is illegal. They were not impressed by the steamrollered resolution condemning "Soviet imperialist aggression in Hungary." Said a top man in Nkrumah's party:



"When we hear all this about the Russians we smile. Not that we love the Russians, but why do these people never say a word about South Africa or the imprisonment of our beloved Jomo Kenyatta? We are Africans. We say that sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. We Africans want freedom and justice in Africa."

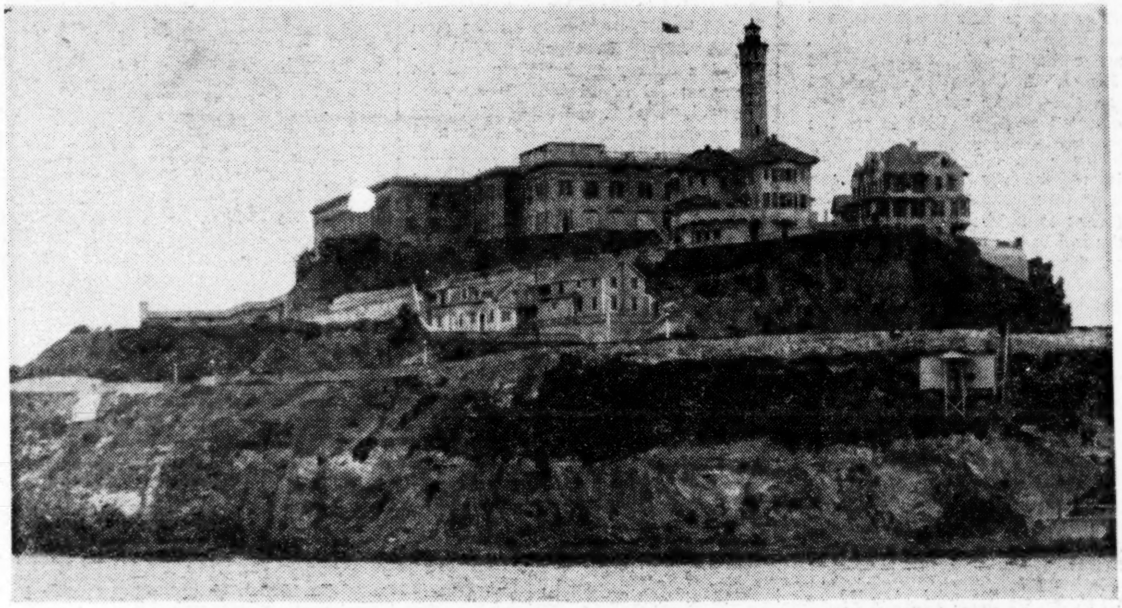
THE HUMAN MATERIAL: Said the editor of the only solidly pro-Nkrumah newspaper, who with the rest of us had been presented to the Duchess at the Governor's the day before: "Nature abhors a vacuum. Now we have defeated imperialism we want socialism to take its place." And full of the power of conviction, he left for the ramshackle plant where the paper is handset and printed on a prehistoric flatbed press, with the masthead motto: "We prefer self-government with danger to servitude with tranquility." It was the third night, he said, that he would be spending on the office floor, snatching a little sleep between the tasks of getting out a 20-page Independence Special.

Of such human material, working with such tools, is the African revolution being made. It is 'crude," and nobody really likes it except the people, most of whom cannot read or write. Against it, neither Nixon's smile, nor the propaganda of confusion, nor all the corrupting gold in Fort Knox, will easily prevail.

HELEN SOBELL TALKS ABOUT HER HUSBAND MORTON

The gentle scholar of Alcatraz island

By Albert E. Kahn
Special to the GUARDIAN



THE ROCK: ALCATRAZ ISLAND, WHERE THE AIM IS TO BREAK THE HUMAN SPIRIT.

SAN FRANCISCO

ON MARCH 11, 1957, Helen and Morton Sobell celebrated the 12th anniversary of their wedding. They were at the time 3,000 miles apart: she was in New York City and he was on a small craggy island in San Francisco Bay. This enforced separation, however, was not new to them. During their married life, they have spent more years apart than together. Almost seven years have elapsed since Morton was kidnaped in Mexico City by hired agents of the FBI and sentenced to pay 30 years of his life for refusing to sell his soul for 30 pieces of silver.

For 90 minutes, once each month, Helen is permitted to visit her husband at Alcatraz. Watched by a prison guard, she sits in a bare room that has bars on three sides. The fourth side consists of a steel wall in which there are small windows covered with thick panes of glass. Helen looks at Morton through one of these windows while they talk together on telephones. Sometimes, when the light is especially poor, she has difficulty in seeing his features clearly.

A TRANSFORMATION: It is costly to travel back and forth across the continent, and Helen usually times her trips to include two visits to Alcatraz—one at the end of one month and one at the beginning of the next. Her most recent visit was on March 2. I spent the morning with her before she went to the prison.

I could not but marvel, when I saw Helen now, at the transformation in her since I first knew her. The tense and painfully shy young woman, whose voice was often barely more than a whisper, now personifies confidence and tenacity. Her dark handsome eyes are buoyant. She is no figurehead in the movement to free her husband, but a true leader.

MORTON SOBELL
"You must respect yourself"

This day she had good news to share. The Washington Day dinner and public meeting in Los Angeles were very successful. More than 100 prominent persons had just signed a letter to President Eisenhower urging him to pardon Sobell, commute his sentence, or request the Attorney General to consent to a new trial. The State Dept. had been forced to back down on its refusal to permit the distinguished Mexican attorney and statesman, Dr. Luis Sanchez Ponton, to enter the U.S. to join the Sobell defense.

THE HELLHOLE: There has been much comment over the years about the appalling conditions at Alcatraz, which Sen. Langer calls "the worst hellhole of them all." It is difficult for those who have not endured it to understand what life is like on The Rock, but this story helps:

Recently a prisoner escaped. He was found shortly afterwards on the island, in a cave by the water's edge. He could not swim. He had known, in other words, that he had no chance of getting off the island. But he could stand the prison no longer. He had to flee, if only for 100 yards . . .

The "maximum security" for the so-called incorrigible criminals at Alcatraz has one simple aim: destruction of the human spirit. The prison is a monstrous cage for converting men into stolid animals. The separation of the prison from the mainland has a symbolic significance. The prisoners are shut off from all possible contact with the outside world, just as they are denied the most commonplace privileges of other penitentiaries.

THE ONLY WAY: How has the gentle scholar and scientist, Morton Sobell, stood up under all of this? "He has not only continued to function," says Helen with pride, "but to grow and add to his enrichment. He finds something meaningful in everything around him. And, you know, he never gets out of touch with the world." She adds, with a smile: "There's a saying that the only way for the rich to stay rich is to get richer. Well, for Morton, the only way to stay strong is to get stronger . ."

What do this husband and wife talk about during their 90 minutes together? They talk about casual, tender, and beautiful things. Before her last visit, Helen sent Morton the program of a musicale by the San Francisco Sobell Committee. "You wait for that Dvorak trio," he tells her when he sees her. "You'll love it. It's a wonderful thing . . ."

He has recently finished reading Erich Fromm's book, **The Art of Loving.** Together, they discuss the author's concept of how a mother's love of her children differs from a father's . . .

A LESSON LEARNED: "Speaking of love," says Morton, "I've been thinking about the precept, 'Love thy neighbor as thyself.' You know, that really means much more than that you should just love your neighbor. When you stop to think about it, you realize it also means that you must respect yourself."

And they talk about their children, about their son, Marc, who will be eight in June, and Helen's daughter, Sidney, who at 17 is approaching womanhood . . .

They talk about the correspondence course Morton is taking in transistors (the intercession of the noted physicist, Dr. Harold Urey, was required before Morton was allowed to receive two monthly scientific journals); and Morton gently scolds Helen for having told his attorney about his having gotten a mark of 100 on his mid-term exam. "You make it sound as if it were a major accomplishment. The exam was really very easy . . ."

A NEW SENSITIVITY: Then Morton says: "Well, our visit is almost over, and of course that's always sad."

He has no watch, and Helen asks: "How do you know it's almost over?"

"I can hear the bus coming."

"You can? I don't hear anything."

"Oh, you develop all sorts of sensitivities here," Morton says. "For example: The electric power is turned off every night at nine, you know, and all the lights go out in the cells. Sometimes you can't remember whether or not your light was on when the power went off. If it was, and you leave it that way, you'll be awakened by its glaring in your face early in the morning when the power goes on again. Well, I've gotten so I can tell in the dark, just by the feel of pulling the cord, whether the connection is on or off."

And then, once again, as so often, they say good-bye through the telephone, looking at each other through the little window . . .

The Frighted Giant

A NEW BOOK

By CEDRIC BELFRAGE

THE 236 PAGES *of our Editor-in-Exile's warm recollections of the America of the GUARDIAN's years are crammed with memories that are yours, too, and you will rejoice to relive them with him. In his chapter on the Rosenberg-Sobell Case, "My Sister, My Brother,"—perhaps the book's most moving—he writes thus about the two martyrs:*

"When I thought of Ethel and Julius as 'communists'—the label that had to be pinned to them, although nothing as to their affiliation was ever established at the trial—one reflection was automatic: that if indeed they were members of it, then the American Communist Party was thereby ennobled. If they were, they took their place with many other communist men and women to whom humanity was in debt, who in my time had shown the greatest love, that they had laid down their lives for their friends. But all that was important to me was that they were my sister and my brother in my own progressive family which was broader than parties."

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Farm bill chaos

(Continued from Page 1)

by the Administration, they could accept allotments of 51,000,000 acres, with the right to collect government payments for taking 15% of their land out of production and placing it in the soil bank. But under this proposal it was assumed that Benson could set price supports on corn anywhere from zero up. The plan was defeated when it failed to get the required two-thirds majority vote.

This automatically cut back the corn allotment to 37,288,000 acres, which is insufficient to induce many farmers to join the soil bank program. To make an income, most of them would overplant their allotment and thereby forego government soil bank payments. In addition, they would boost their yield by more intensive cultivation. Benson saw visions of another whopping overproduction of corn with a consequent fall in price, with disastrous effects on the cattle, dairy and poultry farmers. This would likely doom the GOP farm program as developed under Benson and Eisenhower.

ANGRY SOUTH: Many Benson aides blamed defeat of the corn referendum on the Natl. Farmers Union, strongly Democratic. The fight brewing in December was whipped to a head on Feb. 9 this year when Benson, under his flexible price support scale, announced slashes of about $200,000,000 for cotton, oats, rye, barley, sorghum grain, soy beans, flaxseed and cottonseed. The reduction in cotton alone amounted to nearly $6 a bale. This infuriated the Southern farm states.

The battle was joined when the House Agriculture Committee began "to review the operations of the soil bank and to receive suggestions for improvement of this program in 1957." The Committee received a bill sponsored by the Dept. of Agriculture based on the proposal defeated in the December referendum; no one in the House could be found to introduce it. Another measure, similar in content but a little more palatable to corn growers, was presented by Rep. August H. Andresen (R-Minn.). But Democrats on the committee, Southerners especially, saw this as preferential treatment for Midwest Republican strongholds and wrote a separate bill of their own.

NOBODY BUDGES: This measure contained most of the Andresen proposals, but in addition extended soil bank payments to all feed grains everywhere in the U.S. Southern cotton and tobacco growers, and wheat farmers, who diverted much of their land to feed grains when allotments for their major crops were curtailed under Federal controls, would be the chief beneficiaries.

Republicans stood fast for their measure, Democrats wouldn't budge on theirs. The House Agriculture Committee, which by back-scratching traditionally achieves a high level of agreement, came to the floor of the House this month hopelessly split straight down the middle on party lines.

A DAY OF CHAOS: The two-day debate in the House was turbulent and vitriolic. When economy-minded Representatives, wrestling with the biggest peace-time budget in history, got into the fight, things grew hectic. The final vote was chaotic; the original bills, substitute compromise bills, amendments to bills and amendments to amendments, all went down to smashing defeat. Agriculture Committee chairman Harold D. Cooley (N.C.) added a strange fillip to the shambles when, at the end, with mock seriousness, he offered the original Benson bill and watched it go crashing down with Democrats voting for it and Republicans smothering it with Nayes.

It seems unlikely that anything can be salvaged from the wreckage. Midwest corn planting is a scant few weeks away; feed grain planting is already under way through the South. It will take longer than that for Congressional scars to heal.

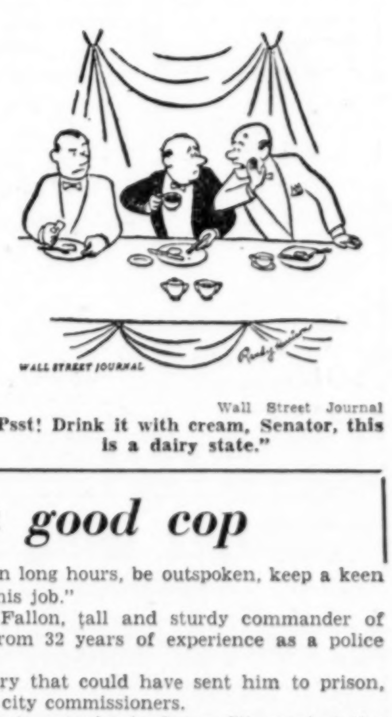
Soil bank or First National?

EZRA TAFT BENSON's soil bank program works in strange ways. Rep. Jamie L. Whitten (D-Miss.) declared during the recent Congressional farm debate that "the present indications are that in certain states people in the cities are going out and buying farms to rent them to the Dept. of Agriculture and will use [soil bank] payments received to pay for them."

City Purchasing Agent Bernard L. Gill of Madison, Wisc., has a still better idea. His city currently rents out 54.5 acres of land for agricultural purposes. He is ready to propose that the City Council "withdraw" this land from farming—and cash in on an annual soil bank payment of $2,957.70 from the Dept. of Agriculture.

How high the corn?

WHEN agricultural prices fall, most farmers strive to produce more just to stay even on the mortgage. Corn growers, left last week with little government prop under their crop, can be expected to plant more, grow more. During the House debate on the corn bill, Rep. Leslie C. Arends (R-Ill.) reported a county in his state had an average yield of 81 bushels an acre and said, "That is unprecedented." But last week a report from Wisconsin said that farmer Elmer Braun of Brodhead, by intensive cultivation and fertilization, got a yield of 186.9 bushels an acre.



Wall Street Journal

"Psst! Drink it with cream, Senator, this is a dairy state."

How to be a good cop

"TO BE A GOOD COP, a man has to put in long hours, be outspoken, keep a keen eye on politics, and most of all to love his job."

This is the philosophy of Capt. Mark Fallon, tall and sturdy commander of Jersey City's Fourth Precinct, who speaks from 32 years of experience as a police officer . . .

The precinct commander confided a story that could have sent him to prison, but he followed the orders of the mayor and city commissioners.

"About 25 years ago, CIO was attempting to organize in Jersey City against the wishes of the city fathers who thought the group was Communist-controlled. Twelve of us were brought to police headquarters and dressed as gangsters and ordered to break up the pickets and destroy their meeting places.

"We did this successfully, but if it ever leaked out that the raiding party was cops, we all could have gone to jail."

Fallon said that he related this story to show the importance of following orders. "Sure, a superior can call a wrong move, but his orders should be followed and then questioned later," he said.

Hudson Dispatch, Union City, N.J. Feb. 27, 1957

NOBODY WOULD SAY WHERE HE WAS GOING, BUT . . .
These RAF chaps were off to blow Christmas Island to Hell

Christmas Island

(Continued from Page 1)

In 1918 with the guano market at low ebb, the British leased Christmas to coconut planters. But in 1936, when the U.S. was looking for refueling stops for air mail planes, the claim was revived and pressed with sharp Anglo-U.S. exchanges. When trans-oceanic planes made the island unnecessary, the controversy lapsed and Christmas went back to sleep. But the dispute was never settled. In the U.S. view Christmas is an American island.

RATHER CURIOUS: A staff member of the **World Almanac** told the GUARDIAN: "The bomb will end the argument."

Throughout the preparations for the test nobody, it seemed, had checked the title to Christmas, even by looking at an atlas. When the GUARDIAN queried the British Information Services in New York, a staff member said: "Oh, I shouldn't think we'd bomb anything that wasn't ours, would you think so?" The GUARDIAN said it couldn't be sure. The woman said she would check and call back. An expert named Hayday called instead to say that it was indeed rather "curious" that no one had raised the point before. He said he would telephone the British Embassy in Washington.

An hour and a half later Hayday said the colonial attache's office in Washington seemed to confirm the GUARDIAN's story. Hayday added that after the U.S. had raised the matter "rather sharply" in 1936 the British had moved in a warship. He added: "But from the American point of view I suppose that doesn't settle very much, does it?" He promised to get an "official attitude" from the Embassy but at press time no word had come from Hayday. Meanwhile the GUARDIAN had sounded out the Japanese and found them decidedly interested.

REPEATED PROTESTS: Tall, genial, impeccably correct Ambassador Hideo Kitahara, chief of Japan's delegation to the UN, had a theory on British motives. He thought the British were anxious to pull off one good test, establish themselves as a full-fledged atomic power and then support a ban on further bomb tests, foreclosing efforts by any other nation to join the exclusive club of atom wielders.

Kitahara said his government had made repeated protests to Britain on the coming tests, scheduled for some time between March and August, and that in the UN he had worked with Norwegian and Canadian representatives on steps to ban new tests. But the British had gone right ahead and even refused to promise any compensation for damages. The tuna business was sure to suffer drastically and Japanese steamship lines would have to be re-routed. There might be far worse consequences. (The U.S., after the Bikini bombing, paid $2 million in compensation which the Japanese government had passed on to fishermen or their kin, thereby bailing itself out of a ticklish political situation at home.)

PROTEST TO RUSSIA: Ambassador Kitahara strongly favored an immediate ban but suggested that if bombs had to be tested it ought to be done in the Antarctic where no winds could blow the fall-out very far. He granted that the South Pacific was more congenial for the "experts" who flock to every blast.

Japan, he said, was in the world's worst spot, catching the fall-out from every bomb tested by any of the powers. Bikini had been a disaster and now radioactive dust, snow and rain was falling all over northern Japan from the March 8 Soviet tests in Siberia, which the Japanese vigorously protested.

When shown the atlas and almanacs, Kitahara murmured, "Very curious." He said he would raise the matter in Washington, though he was not hopeful that Secy. of State Dulles would act on the claim. He had been disheartened by Dulles' announcement that the tests would not endanger Hawaii. It was felt, other Japanese spokesmen said, that such encouragement might have been prompted by the British and indicated tacit U.S. approval of the tests. Later, from other sources, it was learned that the Ambassador had quickly cabled the GUARDIAN story of the forgotten U.S. claim to Tokyo.

FUROR IN JAPAN: In Tokyo the Social Democratic opposition pressed the matter in the Diet and Premier Nobosuke Kishi promised to send the president of the Christian Rikkyo University to London as his personal representative to plead for suspension of the tests.

On March 1, 2,000 people rallying in Toshima Hall in Tokyo were told that 34 million Japanese had signed petitions to ban atomic weapons. The rally heard messages from the Premier, anti-bomb speeches by the Egyptian ambassador to Japan, an Indian charge d'affaires, representatives of the Japanese Liberal Democratic, Socialist and Communist parties. The meeting was sponsored by the Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs.

A board of chairmen elected at the meeting to implement the protest included an ex-Prime Minister, an archbishop, a vice-president of the Japanese Buddhist Assn., leaders of the Union of Women's Organizations and the General Council of Trade Unions.

Former Prime Minister Tetsu Katayama told the meeting: "It is we, Japanese people, baptized by A- and H-bombs, who have the right to speak out against the use, test and manufacture of A- and H-weapons."

ACTION IN ENGLAND: Volunteers were reported signing up to man fishing boats that would stage a suicide "sit-down" in the forbidden waters near Christmas Island. In London's **Reynold's News**, columnist Tom Driberg seconded the sit-down and added: "How about a call for volunteers from all nations?"

Meanwhile, the entire native population of Christmas—37 adults, 23 children—were quietly evacuated by British troops, still under the impression that the island was theirs to destroy.

Crisis in Mideast

(Continued from Page 1)

Gaza, there seemed so far to be more smoke than fire. All UN discussions and decisions—and also U.S. pronouncements—have emphasized Egypt's rights under the 1949 Armistice to return to civil control of the Gaza Strip. The Egyptian move of at least a partial civil administration into Gaza came more quickly than some U.S. and UN circles had anticipated, and gave rise, in the public mind, to a fear of renewal of border incidents. U.S. correspondents in Cairo explained its timing as arising from Egypt's feeling that UN planned a permanent UN administration in Gaza. This feeling, they pointed out, was provoked by:

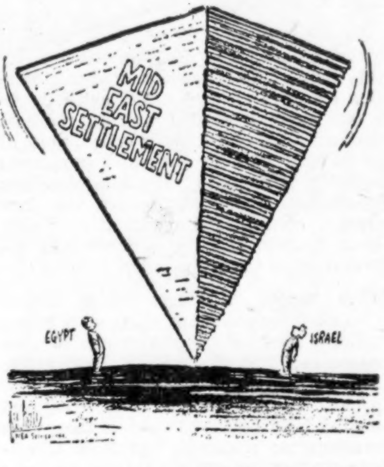
1. The failure of Gen. Burns, commander of the UN Emergency Force, to bring an Egyptian liaison officer into the Gaza Strip; his exclusion of Egyptians after Israeli forces had withdrawn; his proclamation to the people, made without notifying Egypt, which to the Arabs "smacked of the proclamation of a military governor to the people of an occupied territory" (**Christian Science Monitor**, 3/12).

2. Assumption by the UN of education, health, social and welfare administration, without consulting Egypt.

3. Statements by Western leaders, like Canada's Prime Minister St. Laurent, that Gaza should be internationalized and that UNEF's stay was not conditional on Egypt's consent.

THE BORDER LINE: After it asserted its rights in Gaza, Egypt announced it would help UNEF carry out tasks authorized by the UN. The only specific action authorized by the Feb. 2 resolution is the stationing of UNEF on both Israeli and Egyptian sides of the armistice line. Egypt agreed but Israel has thus far refused to permit deployment of UNEF on its side of the line.

The U.S.'s announced resumption of aid to Israel was coupled with a renewed U.S. demand that Israel permit such deployment of UNEF. At UN the feeling was general that Egypt would not long permit UNEF's deployment only on its side of the line. Some observers saw the Egyptian move into Gaza as designed to force Israel's hand on this issue. The **Times'** Homer Bigart (3/17) reported from Cairo that Egypt probably would agree not to remilitarize Gaza and the Sinai frontier if Israel agreed to accept UNEF troops.



Capital Times, Madison

"Don't anyone move!"

THE "GUARANTEES": Present tensions and difficulties, it was felt, grow primarily out of the U.S. "guarantees" and their unilateral character. Egypt does not appear to be honoring these "guarantees," but it never said it would. The "guarantees" were made without consulting Egypt and were bitterly attacked by the Arab states and many others. They have no UN status since they could not command the necessary support from the Assembly. They have aroused Arab fears and suspicions without giving Israel real assurance of anything. The joint communique of Secy. Dulles and Israeli Foreign Minister Golda Meir, and accompanying U.S. press briefing, underlined this. Egypt's moves, which have so far been within the terms of UN resolutions, are making it difficult to use the UNEF to impose an exclusively Western settlement.

But the UN debate has indicated lines which could lead to solutions achieved through the UN: (1) some UN functions in Gaza worked out in cooperation with Egypt as suggested by the UN Secretary General Feb. 22; (2) deployment of UNEF on both sides of the armistice line; (3) submission of the question of Israel's shipping rights in Aqaba and Suez to the World Court. The Hammarskjold negotiations were due to begin soon, and should, UN observers believe, be given a real chance to end the state of belligerency.

THE WESTERN ALLIANCE: If U.S. policy in relation to Israel was equivocal, it appeared no less so in relation to its British and French allies on the Middle East. Last week, C. D. Jackson, former White House adviser on psychological warfare, gave British tories, long suspicious of Washington's role in the Suez crisis, something to think about. He reportedly asserted in Toronto that "the U.S. had touched off the Middle East crisis to force a showdown with Russia" (Washington **Post**, 3/5); that the U.S. offer to help finance Egypt's High Dam was withdrawn to "call Moscow's bluff," and that the State Dept. was fully aware that Egypt might nationalize the Canal in retaliation.

Jackson's statement should be read beside that made to a Senate committee recently by Henry Byroade, U.S. Ambassador to Cairo at the time Dulles withdrew the offer of credits. Byroade testified that long before Dulles' action there were "unmistakable signs" (which he undoubtedly reported to the State Dept.) that Egypt planned to nationalize the Canal. But if Dulles knew Egypt's reaction to his move would be nationalization of Suez, he could hardly have failed to realize that British-French reaction to nationalization would be violent.

THE BRITISH HOPE: The resulting crisis, as it proved, afforded the U.S. the opportunity to move into former British and French preserves and to proclaim a military protectorate over the area. The Senate investigation of U.S. Middle East policy, which began last week, and at which Jackson was to be one of the first witnesses, may throw further light on whether the Middle East crisis was actually planned in advance.

In any event, the British hope, voiced again on the eve of the Bermuda talks, of achieving a "common front" with the U.S. in the Middle East—on anything but Washington's terms—seemed unrealistic. The relative lack of attention being paid to Bermuda, as earlier to the Eisenhower talks with French Premier Mollet, reflected the drastic decline in British and French power since Suez. It also underscored the fact that the "western community" is no longer the world's political center.

LIPPMANN'S VIEWS: In Minneapolis on Jan. 27 Walter Lippmann noted that the greatest powers with which the U.S. has to concern itself are no longer in the North Atlantic but in Eastern Europe and Asia. If after the first world war, the world capitals were London and Washington and, after the second, Washington, Moscow and London, today, he said, they are "Washington, Moscow, London, Peking, Delhi and, who knows, perhaps eventually Cairo."

Paradoxically, because this is so, there was one area where London and Paris might have a certain success in dealing with Washington: Western relations with China. Britain, France and Japan are all demanding a relaxation of the U.S. embargo on trade with China. So are many U.S. businessmen. In addition, in France, where the U.S. is regarded as sacrificing W. European interests to play up to the Afro-Asian countries, rightist politicians and businessmen are demanding that France itself curry favor among the Asian and African powers by recognizing and resuming normal trade relations with Peking.

RESULT OF U.S. POLICY: Many recent signs suggest that behind the scenes in Washington a struggle is going on for a reappraisal of China policy. Last November, the American Assembly heard a background paper on China which added up to a clear and straightforward argument for China's admission to the UN; recognition by the U.S.; easing of the embargo; tactical withdrawal from the offshore islands. The Assembly, established in 1950 by then Columbia University President Eisenhower, is made up of influential representatives of business, labor, agriculture, the professions and government. Although its resolutions reflected this argument only indirectly, the background paper is part of a discussion guide now being circulated to schools, colleges and civic organizations.

Its chief argument is that the U.S. policy of non-recognition has been more important in terms of relations between the U.S. and third countries than between China and the U.S. directly, and that non-recognition is crippling U.S. efforts to win influence and favor among Asian countries, as well as hampering its relations with others.

WORRIED PRESIDENT: This report was followed by a **Saturday Evening Post** article by Robert Donovan, the President's official biographer, who wrote that the President "has long been troubled by doubts about the wisdom of endless non-recognition of Red China" since he feels this may eventually "defeat the long range interests of the U.S."

Dulles' renewed pledge at the SEATO conference to withhold recognition of China—"more calculated to impress Sen. Knowland than his SEATO allies," commented the Washington **Post**—indicates that no early shift in the U.S.'s policy toward China can be expected. But some relaxation of the trade embargo, despite U.S. denials, was at least possible, and pressures for a real shift in policy were certainly on the rise.

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NEWSMAN PRICE CONVICTED OF CONTEMPT

Government says it can call anybody in off the street for political quiz

WILLIAM A. PRICE, former New York **Daily News** reporter who defied Sen. James O. Eastland's Internal Security Subcommittee on the ground that it had no authority to inquire into his beliefs and private affairs, was convicted of contempt of Congress in Washington on March 13.

Federal Judge Richmond B. Keech handed down the guilty verdict on eight counts after a three-day trial without a jury. Sentence was deferred indefinitely. Price announced that he will "fight—to the Supreme Court if necessary—to vindicate my firm belief that under the First Amendment, no citizen can be required to answer for his political beliefs under compulsion." He added that the Subcommittee's hearings were "specifically directed at the press and at newspapermen" and thereby violated the freedom of the press clause of the First Amendment.

"NO VALID PURPOSE": Defense attorneys Leonard Boudin of New York and Harry I. Rand of Washington argued that the Subcommittee's questioning of Price served "no valid legislative purpose" and that the First Amendment's guarantee of freedom of the press was beyond the legislative power of Congress. But Asst. U.S. Atty. William Hitz contended, as he has before, that a Congressional investigating committee has the legal right to "call everybody in off the street" and ask them if they were Communists. He said committees haven't done this to date because they haven't had time.

Judge Keech's ruling was terse and made no reference to the freedom of the press issue. He found that the Eastland committee is properly constituted, pursues valid legislative functions, and said its questions to Price were "pertinent, not ambiguous, and were properly put."

"TIMES" WAS A TARGET: Price is one of more than 50 newspaper people called before the Eastland Subcommittee in 1956 during a probe of the "media of mass communications." He appeared on Jan. 5 of that year and was fired from the **News** by telegram within hours after he testified. He had been with the paper since 1940 with four and half years out for war service as a Naval flier with the rank of lieutenant.

In a report of this phase of its 1956 investigations, the Subcommittee early this month said it "encountered considerable evidence of communist activities in press, radio, television and in political matters." But of witnesses called, most of them with past or present connections with the N.Y. **Times**, the Subcommittee complained that "except in a very few cases, it encountered a wall of resistance when it presented its evidence and information to them for reply."

TWO MORE TRIALS: Three others were cited for contempt along with Price: Seymour Peck, of the N.Y. **Times** Sunday magazine; Robert Shelton and Alden Whitman, **Times** copy editors. All four invoked the First Amendment. Price and Shelton both refused to say if they were communists; Whitman and Peck admitted past membership but refused to name any of their former associates. Shelton has already been convicted of contempt and has appealed his case; the other two are yet to be tried.

All four in a joint letter published in June, 1956, in the **Guild Reporter**, official paper of the American Newspaper Guild, asked their union's support. Speaking for themselves, Price and Shelton wrote: "We charged that our political beliefs and associations, whatever they may be, were not the rightful concern of Congress or any of its committees. In all candor; we did not hesitate in telling our managements that we are not communists, and with equal candor we freely tell the same to our fellow Guild members. But we did feel, as a matter of principle, that we could not answer this question before Eastland because it so deeply impaired free speech, press and assembly as specifically guaranteed by the First Amendment."

Progressive Israel art show in N.Y.

MORE THAN 100 well-known artists are represented in the third annual art show and sale for the benefit of the Hashomer Hatzair Kibbutz Scholarship Fund at the Master Institute, Riverside Drive at 103rd St. The show, which opened March 22, will run through March 30.

On Wednesday, March 27, at 8 p.m., a violin recital of Israel compositions will be given by Roberta Hankin, accompanied by Yonatan Zac. March 29 at 8 p.m. there will be a color slide talk, "Art of Israel's Children", by Temima Gezari, artist and teacher. March 30 at 8 p.m. Dr. Alfred Werner, lecturer at City and Wagner Colleges and author and art critic, will speak on "Artists, Our Liberators."

The show and sale is sponsored by the Women's Council, Americans for Progressive Israel.

Notes from Liberty

The April selection of Liberty goes back 44 years in keeping with our policy of selecting hard-to-get germinal books which have influenced American thought and American life.

An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution by Charles A. Beard is still a controversial book after all these years. Only last week Princeton University Press published a critical attack on Beard's book by Prof. Brown of Michigan State U. According to the N.Y. **Times** reviewer (another professor, from the U. of California) Prof. Brown's "animus is ill-concealed."

That **An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution** should to this day evoke bitter attacks is a tribute to the vitality and importance of this work.

When Charles Beard published **An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution** in 1913 there was no school of American historians which looked upon our government's origins from the standpoint of its economic basis. The ideas on this subject of Madison and other founding fathers, who had a Lockian purity about their bourgeois revolutionary concepts, had been largely ignored. The political realities of the men who made our revolution were expressed by the revolutionary Madison when he said (**The Federalist, No. 10**): "Those who hold and those who are without property have ever formed distinct interests in society . . . a landed interest, a manufacturing interest, a mercantile interest, a moneyed interest, with many lesser interests, grow up of necessity in civilized nations and divide them into different classes, actuated by different sentiments and views . . ."

In the years which have followed its first publication, Professor Beard's book has continued to be criticized and vilified by those who preferred to think (or preferred that others think) the Constitution was a pure creation of the people. On the other hand, some redress of what was admittedly an "emphasis" of the author has been made by Marxist scholars who have criticized Professor Beard for being a mechanical economic determinist.

We feel that no more defense against a mistaken deterministic view of history need be raised while reading this book than is normally required for the reading of most if not all historical materialistic writing on American history. The insights, disciplines, and understanding, with the techniques for measurement and appraisal of the effects of the ideology which stands above the economic base are not, as yet, developed sufficiently to allow any scholar to give a full historical materialist view of such periods as produced our Constitution. With this in mind one may profitably read Professor Beard's book, and with a firm conviction that this great document, the finest flower of the bourgeois revolution, also still embodies many of the highest moral political principles and aspirations of mankind. You may receive, free of charge, our Liberty Newsletter which carries a longer discussion of this book by writing to Angus Cameron or Carl Marzani, Liberty Book Club, 100 West 23 Street, New York City.

For information on how to join Liberty Book Club and receive Prof. Beard's book along with two others for only $2.39, see our display ad elsewhere in this issue.

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First issue (Spring 1957) now published includes:
PROF. G.D.H. COLE: Is Marxian Economics Out of Date?
ISAAC DEUTSCHER Russia in Transition (a 10,00-word analysis of the recent changes)
CLAUDE BOURDET: The French Left—Current Trends (Editor of France Observateur)
E. P. THOMPSON: Socialism and the Intellectuals (Co-Editor of The Reasoner)
PETER de FRANCIA (Art): Commitment in Criticism
LINDSAY ANDERSON (Cinema): Commitment in Criticism
ERIC HOBSBAWM: Future of Marxism in Social Sciences
GABRIEL PEARSON: Dickens and His Readers
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Carl Marzani, writer and publisher
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San Francisco

TWO IMPORTANT LECTURES
Carl Marzani, "Is Capitalism Possible in One Country?" Wed., March 27, 8 p.m.; Holland Roberts, "Alternatives to Death," on the danger of H-Bomb war. Sun., March 31, 8 p.m. 321 Divisadero St.

New York

CLUB CINEMA (430 Sixth Av.) **"THE INFORMER,"** March 23. Liam O'Flaherty's classic tale of a Judas, played by Victor MacLaglen under the direction of John Ford. Showings: Sat., 8:30 and 10 p.m. Adm: Members, $1; non-members, $1.25. Next week: **"THE WINSLOW BOY"** (Great Britain)

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LECTURE, SUN., MARCH 24, 7:30 P.M.
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Sun., March 24th, 8:30 p.m.
Lecture by **Joseph Starobin**— "Problems of the Left." Brighton Community Center, 3200 Coney Island Av., Brooklyn.

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THE MAIL BAG

Dr. Goebbels level

BRIXHAM, ENGLAND

I don't pretend to understand the ins and outs of the Hungarian revolution. What I do understand is that in Cyprus a British government is flouting the declaration of human rights and has destroyed the freedom of the press. Every day in that unhappy island Magna Carta and Habeas Corpus are being trampled on.

Recently at the cinema we were shown the smart residential quarter of Port Said untouched by bombing. The audience was left to infer that the whole town was undamaged; whereas those in the know say that eight or nine acres of the Arab quarter were levelled and thousands rendered homeless.

This kind of thing is at a Dr. Goebbels level and makes honest folk squirm with shame.

Rhoda Clarke

Dagger thrust

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Enough time has passed and there is reliable information at hand to convince the skeptical or confused of the fact that Hungary was saved from the fate of Spain, from becoming another link of NATO, a military dagger thrust into the socialist heartland. The Soviet Union was the only power able in this welter of bloody chaos to end the fascist White terror and to preserve this unhappy nation.

Frank Kondray

Murderous race

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The Soviet hierarchy is not building socialism but running a murderous race with American and British imperialists. And in this race they stooped to lower depths than our Americans did. You have no idea how the Soviet regime killed the faith and idealism of millions of good and faithful Socialists, Communists, etc.

Re Tabitha Petran's reports on the Middle East: Does she really believe them?

Name Withheld

Q. & A.

GALLUP, NEW MEXICO

Doesn't anything on God's green earth suit you?

Sarah C. Strengler

Yes, quite few things; but not the signs that say "Keep off the Grass."—Ed.

Help for Egyptians

CABOT VT.

There have been many appeals for help to the refugees from Hungary. We think your readers might appreciate hearing of opportunity to help the Egyptian people who have suffered greatly in the region around Port Said.

International Voluntary Service believes that voluntary (unpaid) manual work of a socially useful nature with all nationalities will help to break the barriers which divide men and will develop a new spirit which will make it morally impossible for one country to make war upon another. We also work for the establishment of international constructive service to replace military service. IVS work camps have helped give relief after such disasters as the flood in Holland in 1953 and the earthquake in Greece.

There are branches of IVS in nine countries of Europe as well as in Algeria and India. A project in Egypt will begin in the next few weeks. Twenty volunteers from 11 countries (including an American if a passport or permit can be secured from the State Dept.) will be working in a small village near Port Said where homes were destroyed by bombing. Families are now living in a school awaiting help in rebuilding their homes. This special project needs financial help, and your contribution is most welcome. In the U.S.A. a small group of IVS has been formed and three short work camps have been held in 1956. Inquiries and contributions can be sent to

Robert F. Stowell, Sec'y.,
Int'l Voluntary Service

Apartheid's foes

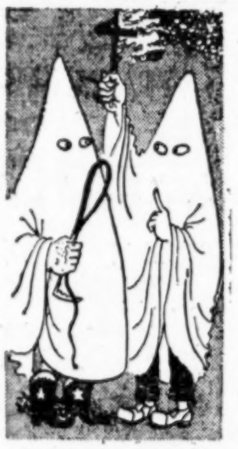
FORE HARE, SO. AFRICA

Thanks to all the good friends who so kindly came to our aid in the difficult times we are experiencing. I am deeply touched by those friends who, without even knowing us, have felt that those principles for which we stand in our struggle merit their support and are their concern.

It's a long and bitter fight ahead, but made much lighter if one has your moral and, as shown, material support. Thank you more than I can ever express. The case drags on. Thousands of documents to be produced and the Crown taking its time. A form of persecution. Many have already lost their jobs. Lawyers fees are going to be overwhelming but yet we are undaunted and feel sure that justice will win in the end.

Give our warm regards to all who think and pray for us.

Frieda Matthews



Lancaster in Daily Express, London

"Yessir, the President's dead right—it's certainly high time those Limeys realizes they can no longer ride roughshod over the Afro-Asian block."

Dangerous doctrine

SAN MATEO, CALIF.

Reader Ericson in his "Questions for Questioners" confuses condemnation of the Soviet Union's intervention in Hungary with condemnation of socialism.

Socialism will live and it will grow because people the world over are increasingly demanding and fighting for it. But it is a many-faceted fight and it now appears that the fight does not stop with the establishment of the mechanical basis for socialism, but rather continues within the framework of the socialist state itself.

To brand a "questioner" as a follower of the "avowed enemies of socialism" renders the fight for socialism no service. McCarthy branded anyone who agreed with anything a socialist stood for as a 'red." This is a dangerous doctrine for a progressive to fall prey to.

Jim Whitehouse

Why they weep

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Capitalism the world over would love to see the fascists enthroned in Hungary. This is the reason the capitalist press keeps weeping over the freedom of the Hungarian people.

Since when is capitalism interested in the freedom of people? If they are sincere, why do they continue their stranglehold on most of Africa and about half of Asia? Deeds speak louder than words.

Name Withheld

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the SPECTATOR

A long way from Chicago

BACK IN 1942 a pretty student nurse named Janet Rosenberg went to a party on Chicago's South Side. There she met a student who was working his way through Northwestern by running an elevator at night. The attraction was immediate. He was from British Guiana and he found out she even knew where British Guiana was.

Janet never became a nurse. The next summer she and Cheddi Jagan were married and left for the South American colony.

Ten years later this daughter of a modest Midwest businessman was Deputy Speaker of British Guiana's first elected legislature and her husband was Prime Minister. Their New-Dealish, pro-independence People's Progressive Party had swept the April, 1953, elections, alarming London and Washington. By October British gunboats in Georgetown harbor had resolved the situation: PPP officials were ousted, arrested, and their homes raided. Janet made good copy back home; to the **U.S. News & World Report** she was "A U.S. Blonde vs. British Lion" and had "the defense forces of both Britain and America on edge." She spent 5 months in jail. The British governor's powers were restored in their earlier unlimited form.

A FEW DAYS AGO Janet was in New York, her first visit since 1949. Still slight, still pretty, Janet may be the most modest "U.S. blonde" who ever grabbed the British lion's tail. Shown some of the newspaper stories about her during the turbulent days of 1953, she glanced at them, smiled ("At least they say I have a trim build!") and put them aside unread. She has the simplicity that seems to mark popular leaders in the colonies.

Thirteen years have given her a bit of a West Indian accent. "Down there, though, they say I talk like a typical American. I suppose I'm not a typical anything by now. But that's where I feel at home, and I can't honestly say I miss anything here very much. Except, perhaps, ice-skating—I used to love to skate—and the food. I still don't like curry and rice. Cheddi, of course, is East Indian, as half our population is. (We're about 500,000.) Another 40% is Negro, so just about all my friends are Indians or Negroes. The few whites are British, and they don't like us."

JANET DIDN'T THINK the PPP had lost much voting strength, even though a split in 1955 had weakened it, partly breaching the unity between Negroes and Indians. The split wasn't on any vital issue, and Janet hoped it could be healed. Most Negroes live in Georgetown, the capital, and most Indians on the sugar plantations: when the Negro slaves were freed a century ago and fled the plantations, Indians were brought over to take their places. They're still there.

Most of the Negroes followed L. F. S. Burnham, former party chairman, into a party also called PPP. The Indians, and a number of Negroes, stayed with the Jagans. Both PPP's publish a paper called **Thunder.** Janet spends a good deal of time at the original one, of which she was editor until last year. It's a small sheet, and crude—two girls set all the type by hand—but it probably exerts more influence than the colony's other papers combined.

"Now the government's announcing policies that were called Communist when we inaugurated them in '53," said Janet. "They've made gestures in the direction of land reform, and are giving us more housing and hospitals. Of course, they're trying to keep the voters away from the PPP—and they've rewritten the constitution to make sure we won't get a majority again. They've lifted some restrictions—I see by the New York **Times** that they're going to let Cheddi and me leave Georgetown for the countryside for the first time in 3 years. But you can still go to jail for being caught with a copy of a World Federation of Trade Unions publication, or others on their erratic list.

"I also see by the **Times,**" she smiled, "that Cheddi is on his way to Ghana. Nkrumah invited him to the ceremonies—I wonder how the British like that."

WE ASKED ABOUT British Guiana's reactions to colonial struggles in Africa and Asia.

"Quite intense." Janet stirred her coffee thoughtfully. "Suez meant a lot to us, Hungary much less. We have special ties to India, naturally. A favorite photo in Guiana homes is one that symbolizes Negro-Indian unity—Burnham and Cheddi with Nehru, taken when the two of them visited India in 1954." One of the books that stirred Cheddi deeply, she added, was Nehru's autobiography.

The Jagans have two children, Cheddi Jr., 7, and Nadira Shanti, 1½ ("Shanti means peace in Hindi"). Janet was impatient to get home to them. "They've had us to themselves so little—with campaigning, then jail, the work for the party and so on. At home there are always visitors, just as at Cheddi's office."

In her few days in New York, Janet visited the UN, went to the ballet—and called on the GUARDIAN's editors for a very special reason. She told them the PPP now has a library of 600 books "which we call the GUARDIAN Library, because every one of them was sent to us by GUARDIAN readers who saw the little letter from us you printed about a year ago. Thousands of people read those books, and we can never tell you how grateful we are."

Janet said the need for good books was still great. Here's the address, for those who would like to contribute further:

Janet Jagan
199 Charlotte St.
Georgetown, British Guiana.

—Betty Millard